



**University of
Zurich**^{UZH}

**Zurich Open Repository and
Archive**

University of Zurich
University Library
Strickhofstrasse 39
CH-8057 Zurich
www.zora.uzh.ch

Year: 2013

The Diamond Commemorations: Social Memory and Politics of Remembrance in the Struggle against the Swiss Armed Forces

Bürgin, Martin

Posted at the Zurich Open Repository and Archive, University of Zurich

ZORA URL: <https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-106184>

Book Section

Published Version

Originally published at:

Bürgin, Martin (2013). The Diamond Commemorations: Social Memory and Politics of Remembrance in the Struggle against the Swiss Armed Forces. In: Crociani, Piero; Bifulchi, Annalisa. ACTA ICMH 2013 (39th Congress of the International Commission of Military History). Roma: Litos Roma, 1127-1136.

*The Diamond Commemorations: Social memory and politics of remembrance in the struggle against the Swiss armed forces*¹

Martin BÜRGIN

Under the meaningful cipher of “Diamond” the Swiss Federal Military Department (“EMD”) organised during the months of August and September 1989 a national commemoration in remembrance of the general mobilisation 50 years ago. Its political, cultural and medial relevance was gained in correlation of the initiative “Für eine Schweiz ohne Armee und für eine umfassende Friedenspolitik” (For a Switzerland without armed forces and for a comprehensive peace policy) on which the Swiss citizens should vote at the 26th of November 1989. Its initiators, the Group for a Switzerland without armed forces (“GSoA”) and their supporters considered the Diamond Commemorations as a governmental-funded propaganda campaign, which would have been disallowed according to the Swiss laws.² The GSoA complained, the EMD sought to influence the public opinion with a historico-political narrative, by relating the perception that the Swiss armed forces protected the country against a Nazi invasion during the Second World War with the conclusion that protection and therefore armed forces would be still demanded in 1989. Beside the doubted necessity of the troops they criticized a systematic mobilisation of the veterans to the poll, which was interpreted as tortious interference by the Federal Government. In addition, critical historians spoke up, criticizing the historical perceptions and discourses as simplistic and antiquated. They demanded a historical reflection in a more comprehensive manner, embedded in contemporary academic debate.³

Within this field the retrospection of Swiss History for the period of the Second World War evolved into a historico-political controversy of an outstanding dimension. As a

- 1 This paper bases on the unpublished licentiate thesis at the University of Zurich under the supervision of Professor Rudolf Jaun: Bürgin, Martin, *Die Diamantreden: Erinnerungskultur, Geschichtsbilder und Geschichtspolitik im Kontext der Abstimmung über eine “Schweiz ohne Armee” von 1989*, Zürich, 2012. Following an invitation by the Education Committee of the International Commission of Military History it was presented as a speech at the Annual Congress held in Torino 2013.
- 2 As a prerequisite for a federal people’s initiative 100’000 signatures must be collected within a period of 18 months. Once accomplished and verified all citizens entitled to vote are invited to cast a ballot. People’s initiatives strive to modify the Federal Constitution. Every citizen has the right to launch an initiative. Due to the definition of the citizens as the sovereign over the Constitution, the Federal Government is technically not allowed to spend money for public persuasion.
- 3 With prominent positions: Tanner, Jakob, *Bundeshaushalt, Währung und Kriegswirtschaft: Eine finanzsoziologische Analyse der Schweiz zwischen 1938 und 1953*, Zürich 1986. Tanner, Jakob, “Bewaffnete Neutralität” und Igelmentalität, in: Gross, Andreas, Crain, Fitzgerald, Erne, Roland, Furrer, Stefan, *Denkanstösse zu einer anstössigen Initiative: Sozialdemokratinnen und Sozialdemokraten für eine Schweiz ohne Armee*, Zürich, 1989, 91-104. Tanner, Jakob, *Einige feierten schon 1940: Feiern zum Verdrängen*, in:

medial major event the news coverage registered more than 10'000 press releases between January and September 1989.⁴ All over the country Diamond activities and counter-events took place. Historians, politicians, artists and writers interfered and expanded the debate.⁵

The core of the Diamond Commemorations was a touring exhibition, which was presented at 52 different stations, which accorded approximately to the 52 places of

Geschichtsladen Zürich, Klunker: Die hochkarätige Zeitung zur Schweiz im Zweiten Weltkrieg, Zürich, 1989, 5. Tanner, Jakob, Die Aushöhlung der Neutralität durch ihre Bewaffnung, in: Widerspruch - Beiträge zur sozialistischen Politik, Nr. 17 (1989), Schweizer Armee Macht Krieg, 33-36. Heiniger, Markus, Dreizehn Gründe: Warum die Schweiz im Zweiten Weltkrieg nicht erobert wurde, Zürich, 1989. Heiniger, Markus, Wussten Sie dass... Neun Fragen an die die dabei gewesen sind, in: Geschichtsladen Zürich, Klunker: Die hochkarätige Zeitung zur Schweiz im Zweiten Weltkrieg, Zürich, 1989, 6. For a detailed overview with continuative biographical reference: Bürgin, Die Diamantreden, 3-13.

4 Diamant im Spiegel der Presse: Zitate, Presseartikel, Bern, 1989.

5 The current state of research on the Diamond Commemoration is limited. On the basis of the medial coverage Simone Chiquet concentrated the core arguments and connected them with the parliamentary debate over the funding of Diamond by the public authority. Chiquet, Simone, Der Anfang einer Auseinandersetzung: Zu den Fakten, Zusammenhängen und Interpretationen in der Debatte um die "Übung Diamant" 1989, in: Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv (Hrsg.), Studien und Quellen, Bd. 24, 193-228. Chiquet based her research on a limited setting of four national newspapers, which she considered as particularly influential or opinion-leading. Even if her conclusions are pretty interesting, her methods must be criticised: Chiquet mentioned the Diamond Commemoration as "a media event of highest grade", but acted on the assumption of a medial coverage of "some hundreds of reports" instead of more than 10'000 press releases. There is a certain numerical discrepancy. But the problem of Chiquet's setting is not only a quantitative but also a qualitative one. The evaluation and the reporting of Diamond were regionally dependent on a multiplicity of factors, according to the regional execution of the commemorations. An analysis of the real news coverage diverges in substance to Chiquet's setting of "meinungsbildende Zeitungen". Chiquet, Anfang einer Auseinandersetzung, S. 220.

Leaded by the concept of an "intellectual intervention" Dorothee Liehr explored the role of Max Frisch, a prominent Swiss author, who interfered in the debate with a play script. She did not analyse the historical topics in Frisch's play, but she exemplified the effects and perceptions of an "intellectual intervention" in a public controversial. Such an analysis could also be undertaken for other poets and thinkers in both political wings and would be certainly beneficial. Liehr, Dorothee, Plädoyer für das Denken: Der resonanzstarke Abtritt des Intellektuellen Max Frisch von der (politischen) Bühne 1989, in: traverse 2010, Vol. 2, Intellektuelle in der Schweiz im 20. Jahrhundert, 81-96. Frisch, Max, Schweiz ohne Armee? Ein Palaver, Zürich, 1989.

Another paper was presented by Ruedi Brassel-Moser during the Diamond Commemoration. Brassel-Moser questioned the constructions and concepts of "the enemy" during the Diamond debate. Unless he took a firm stand - he was a distinct antagonist of the Diamond Commemoration - his observations are still worth reading. Brassel-Moser, Ruedi, Der Feind als Waffe und Wahn: Vom Überleben der Feindbilder in "friedlichen" Zeiten, in: Widerspruch - Beiträge zur sozialistischen Politik, Nr. 17 (1989), Schweizer Armee Macht Krieg, S. 5-16.

Apart from these three articles there does not exist any further research to the Diamond Commemorations so far.

This circumstance may be associated to the rather challenging access to the official records of the Diamond Commemoration. Due to the organisation structure of Diamond and the involvement of several political departments there are different inventories in the Swiss Federal Archives, which contain relevant records. Even if granted access to the records can be allowed by the respective administration unit, the files are covered by a "protection time" of 30 years. Therefore the present article does not deal with internal information or conclusions which could infringe someone's right to privacy, even if such a contribution would enlighten several critical issues. It does only deal with official speeches, which were held in public. The manuscripts to these speeches are collected in the Swiss Federal Archives in the inventory of the mobilisation branch, hereinafter quoted as: Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv, Akten der Abteilung Mobilmachung.

wartime mobilisation. Beside the touring exhibition the commanderships of each mobilisation place arranged specific side events under their own auspices. This procedure generated a wide variety of activities, which were adapted to the particular regional customs and which were open to the public. Every mobilisation place commandership had to organise a so-called "remembrance convention" for all ex-servicemen which were on duty during the Second World War. In contrast to the multifaceted side events these conventions followed a nationwide identical dramaturgy: The commander of the mobilisation place greeted the veterans with a short address; an invited politician held a commemorative speech; a military chaplain spoke some solemn words; afterwards the veterans were invited to a common meal, the so called "Spatz" - a genuine army meal - which must be regarded as a medium of remembrance itself.

On the following pages we focus on the speeches which were delivered at the Diamond Commemorations by politicians, officers, clerics and veterans. It is my aim to trace the political usage of memory and commemoration by analysing these speeches as a serial text corpus. I attempt to illustrate, which imaginations of history and which political narratives were utilized within these speeches, how these different imaginations and narratives were linked and to display certain mechanisms for the creation of social identities and the constitution of a group specific perception of the past.

Collective memories as a dispositive of power

If we read one of these speeches as a single text source, we will regard it as an independent and autonomous work of its relative author. But if we analyse all the speeches as a serial production, we can identify certain repetitive patterns: The arguments, statements and opinions embodied in the single speeches are perpetually repeated. These repetitions manifest the thought patterns in which the speakers were rooted in.⁶ From the inventories of the Swiss Federal Archives I assembled a corpus of 78 speeches from all parts of Switzerland, in all four national languages, from urban and rural areas, from protestant, catholic and rather secular regions. This quite comprehensive setting does astonishingly not manifest any observable variations in relation to the regional or cultural origins of the speakers. There seems to be a countrywide shared memory from which the speakers could draw their imaginations: A collective memory.

This is not the place to give an adequate survey over the research concerning collective memories, but it is necessary to declare which concepts of collective memories will be followed.⁷ Some of the speakers reflected the existence of a collective memory. They assumed a biological or biologicistic determined collective memory, based on the thesis, that during the lifetime acquired characteristics would be passed to the following

6 Sarasin, Philipp, Metaphern der Ambivalenz: Philipp Etters «Reden an das Schweizervolk» von 1939 und die Politik der Schweiz im Zweiten Weltkrieg, in: Sarasin, Philipp, Geschichtswissenschaft und Diskursanalyse, Frankfurt am Main, 2003, 177-190. Sarasin, Philipp, Diskursanalyse, in: Goertz, Hans-Jürgen: Geschichte: Ein Grundkurs, Reinbek bei Hamburg 2007, 199-217. Bürgin, Die Diamantreden, 33-39.

7 Further reading: Alcock, Susan, van Dyke, Ruth, Archaeologies of Memory, Malden, 2003. Assmann, Jan, Das Kulturelle Gedächtnis, in: Erwägen, Wissen, Ethik, Bd. 3.2 (2002), 239-247. Burke, Peter, Geschichte als soziales Gedächtnis, in: Assmann, Aleida, Harth, Dietrich (Hrsg.), Mnemosyne. Formen und Funktionen der kulturellen Erinnerung, Frankfurt am Main, 1991, 289-304. Erl, Astrid, Memory in culture, New York, 2011.

generations as a quasi in body stored memory.⁸ Such a conception of collective memory is definitely not meant.

Already in the ninety twenties Maurice Halbwachs developed the concept of a collective memory as a social memory – precisely in contradiction to the idea of a biological or genetic reproduced collective memory like the idea of a racial memory.⁹ The essential element in Halbwachs' conception of a collective memory is its social character. It is generated by social interaction and communication, by exchange of media and institutions, within a social group or a plurality of social groups.

Considering the plurality and multiplicity of societies, cultures and civilisations it is quite evident, that a collective memory cannot be described as a well-defined entity. There can exist a plurality of shared memories within a specific group; a collective memory can change its nature - collective memories are fluid; a collective memory can be divided in itself - collective memories are not homogeneous but heterogeneous.

However collective memories are substantial to create collective identities. They build a reservoir of historical topics which can be arranged in varying compositions to different conceptions of history. Guy Marchal called this procedure an "imagological bricolage".¹⁰ As a result of this bricolage myths of history arise, which are not arranged in the same category of thinking as descriptions of a critical academic historiography. The historical topics of the bricolage can be interpreted and reinterpreted. They serve as a basis for self-descriptions or self-characterisations of a social group and as a proposal for its future. Hence, these imaginations can be used as political instruments. In this effect collective memories must be seen as a dispositive of power.¹¹

8 Such concepts were most prominent theorized by Jean Baptiste de Lamarck. In a metaphysical manner they were adopted in the speech of major general André Liaudat, commander of the Gebirgsdivision 10, who postulated a collective soul ("l'âme collective") or by brigadier Jacques Saucy, who mentioned certain fundamental virtues which were – as a sort of Jungian archetypes – anchored deeply in the soul of the citizens. („Des valeurs fondamentales, ancrées depuis des siècles au plus profond des citoyens de ce pays, étaient alors menacées. Je veux dire les libertés, la liberté.") Speeches held in Porrentruy (11.08.1989) and Fribourg (20.08.1989). In: Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv, Akten der Abteilung Mobilmachung. Bürgin, Die Diamantreden, 55. For an excellent critique to Lamarckian and Jungian concepts of inheritable memories see: Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim, Zachor! Erinnere Dich! Jüdische Geschichte und jüdisches Gedächtnis, Berlin, 1996, 11. Further reading: Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim, Freuds Moses: Endliches und unendliches Judentum, Berlin, 1992. Assmann, Jan, Was ist das „kulturelle Gedächtnis"? in: Ders., Religion und kulturelles Gedächtnis, München, 2007 (2000), 11-44, especially page 40.

9 Halbwachs, Maurice, On collective memory, Chicago, 1992 (1925).

10 Marchal, Guy, Das Schweizeralpenland: Eine imagologische Bastellei, in: Marchal, Guy, Mattioli, Aram (Hrsg.): Erfundene Schweiz: Konstruktion nationaler Identität, Zürich, 1992, S. 37-49. Marchal, Guy, Schweizer Gebrauchsgeschichte, Basel, 2006.

11 Foucault, Archäologie des Wissens, Frankfurt am Main, 1981, especially pages 33-74 and S. 113-115. For the legitimization or delegitimation of power through memory compare the concepts of "Speichergedächtnis" and "Funktionsgedächtnis" by Aleida Assmann: Assmann, Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses, München, 1999. For a characterisation of conflicts and frictions between opposing collective memories see the paradigmatic essay by Gerd Theissen: Theissen, Gerd, Tradition und Entscheidung: Der Beitrag des biblischen Glaubens zum kulturellen Gedächtnis, in: Assmann, Jan, Hölscher, Tonio (Hrsg.): Kultur und Gedächtnis, Frankfurt am Main, 1988, 170-198.

The active duty generation

A central topos of the Diamond Commemorations was the imagination of a unified country in times of dangerous threat. The time of mobilisation was conceptualised as an act of closing ranks, as a national collaboration. Instead of cultural diversity, class conflicts and particular interests they drew an image of federal solidarity growing all over the country.¹² The image of a united society during the Second World War was completed by the conception of a self-contained generation, the so called "active duty generation". To this semantic amalgam, which represented the totality of a generation as a homogenous entity, condensed and focused on the German expression of "die Aktivdienstgeneration" or the French term of "les mobards" or "la génération des mobards", different socio-political narratives could be connected.

The feeling of affiliation to a generation effects a certain sense of identity and *raison d'être*. The constructed group identity operates as a supra-individual reference system. It draws a distinction to "the others", who do not belong to the same generation.¹³ Consciously or unconsciously the expression of the "active duty generation" was linked to a poem which was eponymous for the whole Diamond Commemoration. According to the statements of the project management, the cipher "Diamond" was deduced from the poem "Eidgenossenschaft" by Gottfried Keller, where he described the young Swiss Confederation in the 19th century as an indestructible, bright and pure diamond which grew together by the rise and fall of foreign nations.¹⁴

From a glorifying point of view this metaphor seemed to be adequate for the description of Switzerland during the Second World War. Critical voices on the other hand felt indignant about the chosen slogan as about the entire event at all. Some adepts of Keller's oeuvre in turn pointed out, that Keller's own political position, especially in the context of this specific poem, wouldn't be suitable for national pathos because of its complexity

12 Expressed, for example, by Kaspar Villiger, the Swiss minister of defense, in a speech about the meaning of the commemoration held in the Swiss National Council (06.03.1989): "Der 1. September 1939 ist sozusagen ein Symbol für ein Geschehen, das Generationen von Männern, Frauen und Kindern in diesem Lande miterlebt haben, das sie bewegt hat: der Aktivdienst. Es war eine Zeit sehr schwerer Bedrohung, aber auch eine Zeit des eindrücklichen nationalen Schulterschlusses über alle sozialen und parteipolitischen Grenzen hinweg. Unser Land, Sie wissen es, blieb als eines der wenigen in Europa von Kriegszerstörung und Unterjochung verschont. Noch heute leben an die zwei Millionen Mitbürgerinnen und Mitbürger der Aktivdienstgeneration.", in: Amtliches Bulletin der Bundesversammlung, S. 244.

13 Jaeger, Hans, Generationen in der Geschichte: Überlegungen zu einer umstrittenen Konzeption, in: Geschichte und Gesellschaft, Bd. 3 (1977), Göttingen, 429-452. Daniel, Ute, Kompendium Kulturgeschichte: Theorien, Praxis, Schlüsselwörter, Frankfurt am Main, 2002 (2001), 330-345.

14 Was ist DIAMANT? Medienkonferenz Wanderausstellung in Spiez vom 08.08.1989. Pressemappe "Wanderausstellung Schweiz 1939-1945", in: Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv, Akten der Abteilung Mobilmachung. Ibidem Keller's poem in its original full text: "Wie ist denn einst der Diamant entstanden / Zu unzerstörlich alldurchdrungener Einheit / Zu ungetrübter, strahlender Reinheit / Gefestigt von unsichtbaren Banden? / Wenn aus der Völker Schwellen und Versanden / Ein Neues sich zu einem Ganzen einreihet / Wenn Freiheitslieb' zum Volke dann es einweihet / Wo Gleichgesinnte ihre Heimat fanden: / Wer will da wohl noch rütteln dran und feilen? / Zu spät, ihr Herrn! schon ist's ein Diamant / Der nicht mehr zu trüben und zu teilen! / Und wenn, wie man im Edelstein erkannt / Darin noch kleine dunkle Körper weilen / So sind sie fest umschlossen und gebannt."

and multifaceted character.¹⁵

However the intention of a correlation between the term of the active duty generation and the cipher of Diamond as a metaphor for the Swiss Confederation is obvious. All those who lived during the period of mobilisation were seen as an indestructible, bright and pure generation which grew together in times of threat. This generation stands for Switzerland. They granted the survival and the existence of the nation. That was especially appealed to the male part of this generation, the men who served in the armed forces. These men were invited to the Diamond conventions and were the primary addressees of the speeches. Altogether they formed the armed forces, which were interpreted in this corollary as the saviour of Switzerland.

Practises of imagological bricolage

As a hint to the current demand of a Switzerland without armed forces, some speakers asked the question, what would have happened if there wouldn't have existed accurate troops, ready to fight against a possible invader. In drastic visions they imagined a Switzerland under national socialist and fascistic rule. Appropriate plans or intentions verbalised and known by the broad public 50 years ago were recalled and put in mind. Often memorized were certain well known geographical maps which showed a division of the Swiss federal territory in its language regions, which were in different colourations allocated to the territories of the linguistically correspondent Axis Power. It was assumed as a logical consequence of the nationalistic pan-Germanic concept, that the German-speaking part of Switzerland should be incorporated to the Third Reich. The same applies to the concept of Italian irredentism and the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland. The speakers pointed out, that a Switzerland without resistance would have been of great interest to the Axis Powers: As a reservoir of manpower, whether through recruitment or deportation, as a highly developed industrial site, as a safe which could have been plundered and last but not least to secure the transit traffic over the Alps be-

15 In the perception of the GSoA Keller's anti-conservative and anti-reactionary poem was not suitable for an event, which they considered as thoroughly conservative and reactionary. Josef Jo Lang, a GSoA charter member and politician of the Trotskyist labour party (Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei SAP) for instance proclaimed, that Gottfried Keller – if he would live in the present age – would certainly fight against the Diamond Commemoration: «Gottfried Keller kämpfte zeitlebens für eine offene Asylpolitik, solidarisierte sich mit den Freiheitskämpfern in aller Welt, warnte vor der Aushöhlung der Demokratie durch das Kapital und setzte sich ein für die Gleichberechtigung der Juden. Eine Schweiz zu feiern, die im Zweiten Weltkrieg Bedrohte abwies, Tyrannen finanzierte, Kriegsgewinnler schützte, Demokratie abbaute und dem Antisemitismus frönte, wäre dem festfreudigen Gottfried Keller nie in den Sinn gekommen. Sein Platz wäre auf der Seite jener, die für eine andere – offene, solidarische und friedliche – Schweiz kämpfen. Was über die diamantenen Politiker, die uns dieser Tage mit ihren «patriotischen» Reden beglücken, zu halten ist, können wir in Kellers «Grünem Heinrich» nachlesen: «Andere betrachteten die Begriffe Republik, Freiheit und Vaterland als drei Ziegen, die sie unablässig melkten, um aus der Milch allerhand kleine Ziegenkäselein zu machen, während sie scheinheilig die Worte gebrauchten, wie die Pharisäer und Tartuffen.» Lang, Josef, *Der missbrauchte Diamant*, in: Klunker: Die hochkarätige Zeitung zur Schweiz im Zweiten Weltkrieg, Zürich, 1989, 4.

tween Italy and Germany.¹⁶ The fact, that Switzerland was not attacked by the Axis Powers, was explained by the military capacity of the Swiss armed forces. As we all know, the military clout of Switzerland was – thankfully – not tested in earnest. Well, there was one exception, one incident when the Swiss air force defended their sovereignty over the airspace against a German squadron. And they won. They passed the trial by fire. It suggests itself that this episode was highly appropriate for being elevated as a heroic topos, which was often recited during the Diamond Commemorations.¹⁷ Furthermore it was often referred to the high standard of the mobilisation procedure, the dominant discipline and the martial nature of the Swiss soldier in general.¹⁸

Every speaker accentuated the alleged dedication and willing to self-sacrifice, to offer resistance against the Axis Powers at all costs. This point was never called into question. They described Switzerland during the war times as an island in a storm, as a safe but always endangered spot in the “Weltenbrand”, as a free democracy in the middle of an authoritarian Europe.¹⁹ This position was linked with the struggle for freedom of the old confederates in the medieval Old Swiss Confederacy and the founding myths of the Swiss nation. The active duty generation was seen in a line with William Tell and Arnold Winkelried, two fabulous Swiss heroes, which played an important role in the

16 See for example the speeches of lieutenant general Jörg Zumstein and Georges-André Chevallaz, former minister of defence, held in Fribourg at the 18.08.1989 and 19.08.1989. In: Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv, Akten der Abteilung Mobilmachung. Zumstein: “Eure Generation hat noch die fanatischen Reden Hitlers in den Ohren, von denen wir viele hörten, und die uns in ihrer Arroganz und Masslosigkeit erschreckten. [...] Wir erinnern uns an Schweizerkarten, auf denen die deutschsprachige Schweiz bereits als ein Stück Grossdeutschlands, die Gebiete südlich der Linie Chur-St. Gotthard-Lötschberg hingegen als zu Italien gehörig eingezeichnet waren.” Chevallaz: “Les puissances de l'Axe avaient des motifs évidents à envahir la Suisse et l'auraient fait, sans doute, à ce moment, si elles avaient eu la certitude d'y pénétrer sans coup férir ou en n'affrontant qu'une faible résistance. [...] le ministre d'Italie à Berne, Tamaro, généralement favorable à la Suisse, informe son gouvernement d'une démarche de son collègue allemand concernant le partage de notre pays.”

17 Wetter, Ernst, *Kampf im Luftraum*, in: Schaufelberger, Walter (Hrsg.), *Sollen wir die Armee abschaffen?*, Schriftenreihe der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Militärgeschichtliche Studienreisen (GMS), Nr. 8, Frauenfeld, 1988, 75-86. Wetter, Ernst, *Duell der Flieger und der Diplomaten: Die Fliegerzwischenfälle Deutschland – Schweiz im Mai / Juni 1940 und ihre diplomatische Folgen*, Frauenfeld, 1987.

18 Without a doubt expressed for example by Hans Bächler, president of the cantonal government of Fribourg, speech held in Fribourg (20.08.1989): “Die Schweiz war entschlossen, sich unter Einsatz aller Kräfte zu verteidigen.” Similarly by lieutenant general Jörg Zumstein, speech held in Fribourg (19.08.1989): «Numériquement forte, combattant, le cas échéant, le dos au mur, fortement motivée, il aurait fallu, tout aussi bien aux Allemands qu'aux Italiens des moyens considérables pour venir à bout de sa résistance.» Self-confident by André Salomoni, veteran major, speech held in Porrentruy (11.08.1989): “[...] on peut être certain, la Providence aidant, que la détermination des soldats suisses à se défendre nous a épargné les affres d'une invasion et d'une occupation.” Relating to the much vaunted valour of the Swiss soldier – once again – lieutenant general Jörg Zumstein, speech held in Langnau (20.08.1989): “Man förderte den Nahkampf. Mutige Soldaten wurden darin ausgebildet, Panzer wie Katzen anzuspringen, und sie mit Flammenwerfern und Handgranaten zu vernichten. Der Schwung und das Draufgängertum, welche die Truppe beseelten, waren eindrucklich. Eindrucklich war auch der Geist, der die Truppe beflügelte und sie befähigte, Unmögliches möglich zu machen.” In: Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv, Akten der Abteilung Mobilmachung. Bürgin, *Die Diamantreden*, 39-45.

19 Adolf Ogi, Swiss Federal Council, speech held in Burgdorf (01.09.1989). In: Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv, Akten der Abteilung Mobilmachung.

imagological bricolage of Swiss nation building. William Tell stands for the partisan, the huntsman who knows his firearm, an excellent marksman, the freedom fighter par excellence. Arnold Winkelried stands for the soldier who sacrifices himself for his comrades and for the collective good.²⁰

Beside these two heroes the active duty generation was affiliated with the three confederates who were seen as the founders of the Old Swiss Confederacy by their mutual oath of fellowship, the so called Rütlichschwur of 1291. This mythic oath was connected with the military swearing-in ceremony at the beginning of the mobilisation period in 1939, the oath of allegiance. Both oaths on the other hand were repeated during the Diamond Commemorations. Within a ritual manner the mythological national oath and the own military oath were recapitulated and re-experienced. The mythical imagined forefathers in the tradition of the Rütlichschwur and their fight for freedom and independency were assembled to a unique common destiny with the active duty generation and their own postulated willingness to fight.

The willing to self-sacrifice was incidentally not only attested to the male part of the active duty generation but also to the female part. As the men served as fighters, the women were necessary as mothers and as workers. They were linked with the characters of Gilberte de Courgenay and the so called Lady Stauffacher. The former was an iconic waitress in a tavern for soldiers during the First World War. She is accredited as an inspiration for the servicemen. It is said that she gave them comfort and inspired them with trust, courage and audacity. She stands for female aid and care.²¹ Lady Stauffacher on the other hand is a literary character from Schiller's William Tell play. When her husband, mayor Stauffacher, doubted about fighting against the foreign oppressors because he feared for the destiny of his woman, she requests him to fight for the country, independent of her personal future. She pointed out that she would prefer to kill herself as to live under foreign oppression. Lady Stauffacher can be taken as a chiffre for the bold and brave Swiss woman, undaunted by death.²²

20 For further reading: Marchal, Das Schweizeralpenland. Marchal, Schweizer Gebrauchsgeschichte. Kreis, Georg, Schweizer Erinnerungsorte: Aus dem Speicher der Swissness, Zürich, 2010. Assimilated for example by Josef Brücker, former president of the cantonal government of Uri, speech held in Altdorf (02.09.1989): «Auf schweizerischen Stadttheaterbühnen wurde Schillers «Wilhelm Tell» gespielt, und da kam es immer wieder vor, dass die Leute beim Rütlichschwur aufstanden und in tiefer Ergriffenheit den Rütlichschwur mitsprachen: «Wir wollen sein ein einig Volk von Brüdern. In keiner Not uns trennen und Gefahr. Wir wollen frei sein, wie die Väter waren. Eher den Tod, als in der Knechtschaft leben. Wir wollen trauen auf den höchsten Gott und uns nicht fürchten vor der Macht der Menschen.» Da war das Tellspiel mehr als ein Spiel, es wurde gelebte Wirklichkeit.» In: Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv, Akten der Abteilung Mobilmachung. Bürgin, Die Diamantreden, 53-65.

21 For further reading: Kreis, Georg, Gilberte de Courgenay, in: Kreis, Schweizer Erinnerungsorte, 145-155. Schmutz, Janine, Idéal de femme suisse: Die Heldin des Schweizer Spielfilms «Gilberte de Courgenay» (1941) als Frauenleitbild, in: Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte, Bd. 53 (2003), Heft 2, 174-196.

22 Schiller, Friedrich, Wilhelm Tell, in: Sämtliche Werke, Haag, 1830, 570-607, 1. Aufzug, 2. Auftritt. Both topoi valued for example in the speeches of Adolf Ogi held in Burgdorf (01.09.1989) and Marcel Gross held in Martigny (26.08.1989): «Die vielen Stauffacherinnen, die vielen Gilbertes de Courgenay in der Schweiz wollen wir nicht vergessen. Sie haben im Stillen gewirkt – ihnen gehört unser Dank ganz speziell.» (Ogi) «Souvenons-nous de l'effort fantastique, souvent héroïque, de la femme suisse.» (Gross) In: Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv, Akten der Abteilung Mobilmachung. Bürgin, Die Diamantreden, 71-78.

Identity through alterity

For the woman as for the men defending freedom and the self-determination of the country was defined as a supreme good and presented as a common shared ideal. The idea of an abolishment of the Swiss armed forces in 1989 was contrariwise interpreted as an attack against freedom and self-determination of the country. Protection of liberty was seen as a deep-rooted characteristic of a true Swiss Confederate. Opponents of the armed forces were therefore seen as “unswiss characters”. In the context of Cold War bipolarity they were often linked with the “unfree world”, as subversive elements guided by Moscow and as part of a crypto-communist conspiracy.²³ In dubious and ominous semantics critics of the Swiss Armed Forces as well as critics of the Diamond Commemorations were always denoted as “certain individuals” or “certain circles” but almost never with their real names.

Historians who criticised the Diamond Commemorations and their perception of history were mostly ignored within the Diamond speeches. Though the historical explanation, that Switzerland was not attacked by the Axis Forces first and foremost due to its military power and its dissuasive potential, was already doubted since the ninety seventies and even more since the ninety eighties. Though this explanation was spread and learned over 50 years. Accordingly that created a strongly tightened historical narrative in the popular cognition.²⁴

The Swiss Federal Military Department accented again and again that the Diamond Commemorations had nothing to do with the political question of the Swiss Armed Forces in 1989 and the vote on their abolishment. Apparently that was not true. The majority of the speeches held by politicians ended with the request to vote against the initiative. As a general rule the mobilisation place commanders did not point out a political statement in person. But they did by the selection of the speakers, which they invited to their particular Diamond convention. During the whole commemoration there were only two politicians of the left-wing spectrum invited to speak. One was Otto Stich, actually member of the Swiss Federal Council (the government) and acting Finance minister. The other was Jeanne Hersch, a Swiss philosopher without a political function but a distinguished authority in questions of political philosophy. Both of them were known as supporters of the Swiss armed forces and both of them shared the politico-historical narrative which was performed at the Diamond Commemorations. Potential critics were utterly not invited as speakers.²⁵

23 For an exaggerated example: Helfer, Hans-Ulrich, Wer steckt hinter “Schweiz ohne Armee”, Zürich, 1988. Bürgin, Die Diamantreden, 82-89.

24 For further reading concerning the historiographical changes: Jaun, Rudolf, Die militärische Landesverteidigung 1939-1945, in: Kreis, Georg: Die Schweiz und der Zweite Weltkrieg: Sonderband der Schweizerischen Zeitschrift für Geschichte, Vol 47, Nr. 4, 449-844, Basel, 1997, S. 644-661. Kreis, Georg, Weltkrieg, Zweiter: Historiografie und Debatte ab 1945, in: Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS) online unter: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D8927.php>

25 The question what was taken as an exercise of political influence and what was not, was negotiable anyway. The constant fusion of a historical narrative which pointed out the willingness to fight at the time of the Second World War and the drill presentations and parades of the armed forces as a framework program to the Commemorations in 1989 consolidated these two temporal levels and pointed out one declaration:

Conclusion

Although the Commemorations had a clear thematic focus on the mobilization in 1939, the speakers did not only refer to topical historical images of Switzerland at the time of the Second World War, but rather to the imaginations of "struggle for liberty" in the tradition of the Old Confederacy in medieval times. Within the speeches these two topics were seen in correlation. The active duty generation was invoked as a homogeneous group which was considered to be the guardian of the heroic forefathers' heritage. Together the heroic forefathers and the veterans of the Second World War were identified as an intergenerational common destiny, fighting for freedom and liberty and bound in honor and oath.

In the context of Cold War semantics contemporary military strategic concepts like "Dissuasion" and the so called "Gesamtverteidigung" (a Swiss version of Total War strategy) could be integrated in the frame of interpretation which was given by the Diamond Commemorations. In the manner of dissuasion the willingness to fight and the will to self-sacrifice were postulated as a common Swiss national character: A true Swiss confederate is always willed to defend his country. Or, as the Swiss Federal Council recited and expressed this idea in the information-brochure to the initiative of the abolition of the armed forces: "Switzerland has no army. Switzerland is an army."²⁶

Of course this was a highly constructed common identity, based on a just as constructed collective memory. But we should not forget one thing: Only because a collective identity is constructed – and ultimately all collective identities are constructed – it does not affect less real to those who are committed to this collective. Those, who opposed to this ideal and those, who opposed to the Swiss armed forces on the other hand, were consequently seen as "the others", which were not willed to fight for freedom and independency. They were distinguished as incoherent to the postulated common Swiss national character. The others were not seen as positioned in the common shared system of values. Either they did not access to the common shared collective memory or they interpreted it in another way, which was seen as a false way, as untrue.

To reach a conclusion: The question of abolishment divided the supporters and the opponents of the Swiss armed forces not only in the area of political decision-making but rather, or all the more, in the area of commemorative culture, on a deeply emotional level by the construction of a collective identity through alterity. The analysis of the Diamond speeches suggests the assumption that the struggle against the Swiss armed forces – probably not only in the ninety eighties – must be seen and analyzed as a process of social and cultural differentiation.

The willingness to fight is still present. Another sort of framework program were open house presentations in companies according to the military-industrial complex. They depicted in what extent a region was economically addicted to the demand of the armed forces: That affected the visitors directly. Thus the effects of a possible abolition of the armed forces on the labour market were stylized as a central argument in the campaign against abolition. Bürgin, Die Diamantreden, 89-103.

26 Botschaft des Bundesrats über die Volksinitiative "Für eine Schweiz ohne Armee und für eine umfassende Friedenspolitik", 25.05.1988, in: BBI 1988 II 967.

Nostalgic Approach to War Memories – Hokuchin-Memorial in Asahikawa (Japan)

André HERTRICH

In my presentation I would like to talk about a part of my research, which deals with Japan's Self-Defense Forces (JSDF) and politics of memory in their self-representation in military history exhibitions. The example I chose is Hokuchin-Memorial, the base museum of the 2nd Division Ground Self-Defense Force in Asahikawa (on the northernmost island of Hokkaidô).¹ The central theme of the exhibition is the rise and fall of the Imperial Army's 7th Division. This museum is outstanding among base museums in two ways: Hokuchin-Memorial is the only Ground-SDF exhibition with the main focus on the prewar years, the Imperial Army and the wars Japanese soldiers fought in during the 20th century open to public. Almost all of the more than 130 museums operated by the JSDF also cover the Imperial Army or Imperial Navy and the wartime but are on-base and therefore not easily accessible for a general public.

Furthermore, in almost no other base museum were civilians, women, household, urban development and leisure activities subject of such extensive representation. And it is this part of the exhibition which I would like to present to you today. But before turning to the local history section in the museum, I would like to give you a brief impression on what the museum looks like. As you would expect in a military history exhibition you find uniforms, weapons, medals and remains of battlefields on display. You can encounter the daily life of soldiers and meet outstanding military heroes – such as Katô Tateo, a famous fighter pilot who was shot down in 1943 or IJA General Nogi Maresuke, commander of the Siege of Port Arthur during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05).

In a military museum you rather would not expect to find objects on display such as a tea kettle on a stove, different products of the local sake breweries, radios and a record players, as well as wooden shoes worn by women. As I told you, in this presentation I will concentrate on the local history section, in which all these items are presented.

Hokuchin Memorial displays an unusual high amount of civilian items in order to present the good relations between the local Imperial Army unit and the local community. But, putting emphasis on the history of a single unit as well as its surrounding is a typical strategy in other base museums when representing the history of the Asian-Pacific War; and by doing so circumventing the contested wartime past.

As Sabine Frühstück points out that Ground-SDF's base museums in general use "strategic localization of Japan's military history, which limits the histories of the Imperial Army and of the Self-Defense Forces to the specific locales of each base through the

1 Hokuchin can be translated as Pacification of the North but also as Domination of the North and used to be kind of a slogan of the 7th Div. Imperial Army, now also used by the 2nd Div. Ground-SDF.



39^o Congresso della Commissione Internazionale di Storia Militare

Torino 1 - 6 settembre 2013

LE OPERAZIONI INTERFORZE E MULTINAZIONALI NELLA STORIA MILITARE

JOINT AND COMBINED OPERATIONS IN THE HISTORY OF WARFARE
LES OPÉRATIONS MULTINATIONALES ET INTERARMÉES DANS L'HISTOIRE MILITAIRE

ACTA

TOMO II



PROPRIETÀ LETTERARIA

Tutti i diritti riservati:

Vietata la riproduzione anche parziale senza autorizzazione

© 2013 • Ministero della Difesa

CISM – Commissione Italiana di Storia Militare

Salita S. Nicola da Tolentino, 1/B – Roma

quinto.segrstorico@smd.difesa.it

A cura di:

Prof. Piero Crociani

Dott.ssa Annalisa Bifulchi

Comitato di Redazione

Direttore

Colonnello EI Matteo PAESANO

Coordinatore generale

Tenente Colonnello EI Gianluca FICANO

Collaboratori

Sottotenente EI Paolo FORMICONI

Maresciallo Ordinario G. di F. Mauro SALTALAMACCHIA

Brigadiere CC Giuseppe MARINARO

Sergente Maggiore EI Fabrizio FERRARI

Cod ISBN: 9788898185078

Copia esclusa dalla vendita

Stampa: Litos Roma

INDICE

II TOMO

Relazioni - segue dal I tomo -

The Concept of “Repelling Limited and Small-Scale Aggression without External Assistance” and Japan-United States Joint Operation	pag. 649
Yasuaki Chijiwa	
“PEACE for Galilee” – Naval Operations	“ 654
Ze’ev Almog	
“Together is not enough: Argentine Jointness during the Malvinas War 1982”	“ 658
Alejandro Amendolara	
La Force Inter africaine (Fia) de l’organisation de L’unité africaine (Oua) au Tchad en 1981	“ 666
Mactar Diop - Birama Thioune	
The Retaking of the Falklands in 1982: Successful Joint Operations Against the Odds	“ 675
John Peaty	
L’Operazione “United Shield” e il 26° Gruppo Navale Italiano	“ 683
Francesco Loriga	
Joint Operations UAE Armed Forces Participation in Kuwait’s Liberation War (Gulf War / Desert Storm Operation)	“ 691
Saeed Hamad Al Kalbany	
Le Contingent Marocain en Somalie (Décembre 1992 à Avril 1994): Une opération humanitaire réussie ?	“ 701
Omar El Ouadoudi	
The Participation of the Danish Navy in Operation Maritime Monitor / Sharp Guard 1993-1996	“ 707
Søren Nørby	
UNITAF and UNOSOM II: The Failure of Multinational Operations in Somalia 1992-1994	“ 719
Richard W. Stewart	
Strategic Integration - Mission and Practices of NATO Special Operations Forces	“ 727
Nancy Collins	
Le missioni di pace della Polizia di Stato	“ 732
Raffaele Camposano	
La Task Force “GRIFO” in Afghanistan	“ 750
Francesco Lamberti	
Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan Approaching ISAF operations in Afghanistan within Galula’s frame of counterinsurgency	“ 752
David Vestenskov	

The Diamond Commemorations: Social memory and politics of remembrance in the struggle against the Swiss armed forces	“ 1127
Martin Burgin	
Nostalgic Approach to War Memories – Hokuchin-Memorial in Asahikawa (Japan)	“ 1137
André Hertrich	
War memorials in Bosnia and Herzegovina – provocations or places for dialogue?	“ 1142
Anida Sokol	
Defense without confidence Austria facing the cold war threat	“ 1152
Lukas Mayrhuber	

Commemorazione del Prof. Raimondo Luraghi

Interventi di:

Col. Matteo Paesano	“ 1159
Prof. Antonello Folco Biagini	“ 1161
Prof. Massimo de Leonardis	“ 1163
Prof. Mariano Gabriele	“ 1167
Prof. Michele Nones	“ 1171
Prof. Marco Brunazzi	“ 1175

Note biografiche dei relatori	“ 1181
--	--------

Relazioni dei congressi internazionali CIHM tenuti a San Paolo (2011) e Sofia (2012) non pubblicati nei rispettivi Atti dei Congressi

Some aspects of military history in the Italian colonisation: the foundation of the Carabinieri Station of Assab	“ 1201
Flavio Carbone	
Technical innovation and social conservatism in the narrative of the Turco-Italian war	“ 1213
Gianluca Pastori	
Marco Ciampini	“ 1221

Programma accademico delle presentazioni	“ 1233
Elenco partecipanti in ordine alfabetico di nazione	“ 1245
Stralcio di rassegna stampa	“ 1248
Immagini del Congresso	“ 1253